COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"whereas divers cruel and barbarous outrages have been, of late, wickedly and wantonly committed in divers parts of England, upon the persons of divers of His Majesty's subjects, either with an intent to murder, or to maim, disfigure, or disable, or to do other grievous bodily harm to such subjects; and, whereas the provisions, now by law made, for the prevention of such offences, have been found ineffectual for that purpose; be it therefore enacted, &c. &c."——PREAMBLE TO THE ACT, 48 Geo. III. chap. 58, 12th June, 1803.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BOXING.——The public attention having been called to a recent, an extraordinary, and somewhat alarming decision of a Coroner's jury upon a case wherein death was the consequence of a boxing match, I cannot, consistently with the opinions I have always entertained and frequently expressed upon the subject, omit, upon this occasion, to submit to my readers, some few of those reflections that press upon my mind. The case here particularly referred to, is, as stated in the Morning Chronicle of the 25th instant, as follows: "George Hodgson, Esq. one of the coroners for the County of Middlesex, yesterday evening at 7 o'clock, resumed his court of inquiry as to the means by which Patrick, otherwise Michael, Lenon came by his death. The Court was again held at the Cannon Tavern, the corner of Carburton-street, Portland-road. The evidence of yesterday was repeated to the jury, and in addition to it they had the testimony of Mr. Charles Lane, of Carburton-street, surgeon, who examined the body of the deceased in company with Mr. Reeve, of Great Portland-street, surgeon. The substance of his evidence was, that they had been employed about three hours in the examination, and that, upon the most minute observation that could possibly be made, it did not appear that there was any injury done to the viscera of the thorax, neither was there any extravasated blood within the head, such as would have been the case if a blood vessel had burst.—Upon the whole, he conceived that the loss of life must have been occasioned by some injury done to the nervous system, or else by a violent concussion of the brain, which might have arisen either from great exertion of passion or from repeated heavy falls, in which cases there might not be any mark upon the subject from which a professional man could form a decided opinion. But, from the evidence which he had heard of the fight, which was sworn to have taken place, he had no doubt that it was from some circumstance that had taken place during that affray that the deceased came by his death. The coroner repeated his admonitions to parish officers in general, to provide a surgeon in such cases as the present, but added, that it did not appear to him that in the instance then before the jury, there appeared to have been any thing of culpability in the officers. He then acquainted the jury, that in his opinion where there was a premeditated design between the parties to commit a breach of the peace, and where that violation of law terminated fatally to one of them, with the additional consideration that it was a prize fight, in which each had money as an inducement to do an injury to the other; in such case he thought the act of the one man who killed the other, was clearly murder. If they thought otherwise, however, they would say so. But of this the jury had not the least doubt, and immediately gave a verdict of WILFUL MURDER, by Dennis Dillon."——Such is the account given in the public prints. Upon inquiry I find, further, that the combatants were two journeymen in the same shop, who, having quarrelled at their shop-board, agreed to decide their quarrel by a boxing match. It is said, that the only pecuniary stake, for which they contended, was a bet of half a guinea, which bet, however, did not take place till the moment before the fight began. There was so little of what could be truly called malice, between them, that the deceased had proposed to make up their difference without fighting; and, though this was not accepted, a similar proposition was made by the survivor, during the course of the battle. There was, as, indeed, it clearly appears from the above-stated evidence, no reason to suppose the death to be occasioned by any particular blow, but merely by the effect of exertion, and the breaking of a blood-vessel, as might have happened in a race, a rowing match, a jumping-match, a cricket-match, or in any other exercise requiring, either constantly or occasionally, any extraordinary exertion of bodily strength. Those being

the circumstances of the case, one may confidently hope, that this will not be the instance, in which the last blow will be struck at that manly, that generous mode of terminating quarrels between the common people, a mode by which the common people of England have, for ages, been distinguished from those of all other countries. But, though we may safely rely upon the wisdom and justice of the courts, before one of which this unfortunate boxer must finally take his trial, the occasion calls for some remark upon those exertions, which, of late, have been, and which yet are, making in every part of the country, with the obvious, and, in many instances, with the declared, intention, of utterly eradicating the practice of boxing; than which, I am thoroughly persuaded, nothing could be more injurious, whether considered as to its effects in civil life, or in its higher and more important effects on the people regarded as the members of a state, and, of course, always opposed to some other state, and therefore always liable to be called upon to perform the duties of war.——As few persons will be inclined to believe it possible so far to work, by any human laws, such a change in the hearts and minds of men as shall prevent all quarrelling amongst them, it is not necessary to insist, that, in spite of the law and the Gospel, in spite of the animadversions of the bench and the admonitions of the pulpit, there will still be practised some mode or other of terminating quarrels, some way in which the party injured, or offended, will seek for satisfaction, without waiting for the operation of the law, even in those cases where the law affords the means whereby satisfaction is to be obtained. If this be not denied, it will remain with the innovating foes of the pugilistick combat to show, that there are other modes of terminating quarrels amongst the common people less offensive to the principles of sound morality, less dangerous in their physical effects, better calculated to produce the restoration of harmony, to shorten the duration, and to prevent the extension, of resentment, together with all the evils attendant upon a long-harboured spirit of revenge. Without proceeding another step, I am confident, that the reflecting reader, though he may, for a moment, have been carried away by the cry of "*brutality*," latterly set up against boxing, will, from our thus simply stating what our opponents have to prove, have clearly perceived, that the proof is not within their power. He will have perceived, that, of all the ways in which violence can possibly be committed, and violence of some sort there must be in the obtaining of personal satisfaction) none has in it so little hostility to the principles of our religion, and that now is so seldom fatal to the parties, as boxing. He will have perceived, too, that this mode by excluding the aid of every thing extraneous, by allowing of no weapons, by leaving nothing to deceit, and very little to chance of any sort, is, in most cases, decisive as to the powers of the combatants, and proceeds, besides, upon the generous principle, that with the battle, ceases for ever the cause whence it arose; a principle of such long and steady growth, so deeply rooted in the hearts of Englishmen, that to attempt the reviving, or even to allude to, with apparent resentment, the grounds of a quarrel which has been terminated by the fists, is always regarded as a mark of baseness, whether visible in the conduct of the parties themselves, or in that of their relations, or friends.—Instead, however, of rejoicing at the existence of a practice which is so well calculated to soften the natural effects of the violent passions, there are but too many amongst us who seem to be perfect enthusiasts in their efforts to extirpate it. Whether, if they could extirpate those passions themselves, or could so far neutralize them as effectually to prevent their producing acts of violence, whether, in that case, they would leave us any thing whereby, and whereby alone, private injustice, domestic oppression, or foreign hostility, is to be resisted, I submit as a question to the doctors in the school of modern philanthropy; but, unless those passions can be *extirpated*, and until that great work be *completed*, I think, that every one who listens to reason in preference to an outcry, and who is attached to the substance and not the mere sounds of humanity and gentleness, will readily agree, that, to attempt the extirpation of the practice of boxing is to make an attempt, which, if successful, would lead to the frequent commission of all those sanguinary and horrible acts, by which the common people of too many other countries are disgraced, and which, amongst the people of England, have till of late, been almost unknown. In support of this opinion, I may, as to an argument of experience, surely appeal to the law, recently passed, and the preamble of which I have chosen for my MOTTO; and that such a law should have become necessary, I am sure the reader, if he has an English heart in his bosom, will reflect with sorrow and with shame. What is now become of those manners which authorised the honest exultation of so many of our eminent writers, that, from the generous spirit of

Englishmen, acts of cruelty were rendered so rare in their country? Our travellers must now hold their tongues; for the world is told, and that too, by the legislature itself, who have placed the disgraceful truth upon the records of parliament, that the laws and statutes of the land, heretofore in force, are *no longer sufficient* to prevent us from committing "cruel and barbarous outrages, with "intent to murder, maim, disfigure, or dis-"able, one another." It is not till "*of* "*late*," certainly, that such a law has been necessary, and, it is not till of late, that such a general desire to suppress the practice of boxing has prevailed. The mere coexistence of this desire (and of the measures proceeding from it) with the frequency of the commission of cruel and barbarous acts, may not, indeed, be regarded as a conclusive argument in favour of the practice of boxing; but, no one can deny, that it strongly corroborates the conclusion, which reason, without the aid of experience, has taught us to draw; and, if this conclusion, thus fortified, be legitimate, it follows, of course, that we must either have *cuttings and stabbings*, or *boxing*; the former of which, as being perfectly compatible with "a godly *conversa-*"*tion*" and with the cant of humanity, it is more than probable that the Saints and Philanthropists would not hesitate to prefer.—But, it is the political view of this subject which appears to me to be most worthy of attention; the view of the effect which may, by the contemplated change of manners, be produced upon the people, considered as the members of a state, always opposed to some other state; for, much as I abhor cuttings and stabbings, I have, as I hope most others of my countrymen have, a still greater abhorrence of submission to a foreign yoke.—Commerce, Opulence, Luxury, Effeminacy, Cowardice, Slavery: these are the stages of national degradation. We are in the fourth; and, I beg the reader to consider, to look into history, to trace states in their fall, and then say how rapid is the latter part of the progress! Of the symptoms of *effeminacy* none is so certain as a change from athletic and hardy sports, or exercises, to those requiring less bodily strength, and exposing the persons engaged in them to less bodily suffering; and, when this change takes place, be assured that national cowardice is at no great distance, the general admiration of deeds of hardihood having already been considerably lessened. Bravery, as, indeed, the word imports, consists not in a readiness and a capacity to kill or to hurt, but in a readiness and a capacity to venture, and to bear the consequences. As sports or exercises approach nearer and nearer to real combats, the greater, in spite of all we can say, is our admiration of those who therein excel. Belcher has, by the sons of cant, in every class of life, been held up to us as a monster, a perfect ruffian: yet, there are very few persons, who would not wish to see Belcher; few from whom marks of admiration have not, at some time, been extorted by his combats; and scarcely a female Saint, perhaps, who would not, in her way to the conventicle, or even during the snuffling there to be heard, take a peep at him from beneath her hood. Can as much be said by any one of those noblemen and gentlemen who have been spending the best years of their lives in dancing by night and playing at cricket by day? The reason is, not that Belcher strikes hard; not that he is strong; not that he is an adept at his art; but, that he exposes himself voluntarily to so much danger, and that he bears so many heavy blows. We are apt to laugh at the preference which women openly give to soldiers (including, of course, all men of the military profession), a preference which is always found, too, to be given by young persons of both sexes. But, if we take time to consider, we shall find this partiality to be no fit subject for ridicule or blame. It is a partiality naturally arising from the strongest of all feeling, *the love of life*. The profession of arms is always the most honourable. All kings and princes are soldiers. Renowned soldiers are never forgotten. We all talk of Alexander the Great and of Julius Cæsar; but very few of us, ever heard, or ever thought of inquiring, who were the statesmen of those days. There is not, perhaps, a ploughman in England, who has not a hundred times repeated the names of Drake and of Marlborough; and of the hundreds of thousands of them, there is not one, perhaps, who ever heard, or ever will hear, pronounced, the name of Cecil or of Godolphin. When princes are not renowned military commanders, they themselves, though they leave so many and such various traces behind them, are, amongst the mass of the people, soon forgotten, except as having reigned during the victories of such or such a commander. Literary men have, almost uniformly, spoken with more or less contempt of military fame; but, notwithstanding the singular advantages which they have over soldiers, in perpetuating a knowledge of their famous deeds, within how narrow a sphere, comparatively speaking, is their fame confined! Where is the man, woman, or child, in this kingdom, who has not heard and talked of Nelson? And, does not the reader believe, that there are many parishes, in either of which the knowledge of Pope or of Johnson's having existed is con-

fined to two or three persons? Such, too, is the nature of military fame, that it obliterates all the folly and all the crimes of the possessor. The discriminating few, the criticisers of character, will, indeed, take these into account; but, with the people in general, and particularly those of the nation, to which the renowned soldier belongs, his deeds of valour only are remembered.—— Whence, then, arises this universal suffrage of mankind in favour of military heroes? Why are their deeds prized above those of all other men? Not because their profession demands more skill than that of others; not because it supposes hard study or great labour of any sort; not because it is thought to require an extraordinary degree of genius or of wisdom. Some have ascribed it to the terror inspired by military combats; but, we often admire those heroes most at whose deeds it is impossible we can have felt any terror. Others have ascribed it to the signal and extensive consequences produced in the world by the deeds of military commanders; but, the deeds of statesmen produce much more signal and more extensive consequences; and yet, these latter sink silently to the grave, and rot there, without ever being named by the common people of only the very next generation. To what, therefore, can we ascribe this universal preference of military fame before all other fame, but to that all-pervading and ever-predominating principle, the love of life, and the consequent admiration of those who voluntarily place their lives in the most frequent and most imminent danger? This principle exists, naturally, in the same degree, in every human breast; and, bravery consists, as was before said, simply in the capacity of subduing the love of life so far as knowingly, deliberately, and voluntarily to put it to risk. Hence it is, that we cannot refrain from admiring the hardihood of miners, well-sinkers, and the like; but, in them we justly ascribe a good deal to habit, to hard necessity, and, besides, we do not, in their case, see where and what is the immediate cause of their danger; but, in the case of the soldier, we clearly perceive this cause; we see him voluntarily going forth and marching on till he comes within reach of those, who, on their side, are advancing for the sole purpose of taking his life. In proportion as the readiness to hazard life exists in a country, that country is brave, and, consequently, in proportion to its numbers, powerful. How deeply sensible of this does our rival and enemy appear to have been! Amongst all the changes and chances of the French revolution, there has never been a single day, when the rulers were not careful to reward and to honour those who had distinguished themselves by putting their lives to risk. The consequences we have seen, and now but too sensibly feel. We, on the contrary, seem to be using our utmost endeavours to extirpate every habit that tended to prepare the minds of the common people for deeds of military bravery. Am I told, that there are no boxers in France? I answer, that there never were; that their exercises and their combats were of another description; I have seen peasants in France turn out into a field, and cut one another with their sabres. But, if you extirpate boxing in England, can you substitute any other mode of exercise or combat in its stead? No: and that is not the object; the professed object is, to cry down and to put an end to, every species of exercise or of combat, in which life shall at all be put to the risk, or, indeed, in which bodily opposition and great bodily strength and a great capacity of bearing bodily pain are acquired. Not only boxing, but wrestling, quarter-staff, single-stick, bull-baiting, every exercise of the common people, that supposes the possible risk of life or limb, and, of course, that tends to prepare them for deeds of bravery of a higher order, and, by the means of those deeds and of the character and consequence naturally growing out of them, to preserve the independence and the liberties of their country; every such exercise seems to be doomed to extirpation. Even the very animals, for the bravery of which the nation has long been renowned, are to be destroyed, as men would destroy savage and ferocious beasts. Every thing calculated to keep alive the admiration, and even the idea, of hardihood, seems to have become offensive and odious in the sight of but too many of those, whose duty it is to endeavour to arrest, and not to accelerate, the fatal progress of effeminacy. That many of the persons so zealously engaged in supporting the system of effeminacy (for such it may properly be called), are actuated by motives of tenderness for the common people there can be no doubt; but, while I must think, that such persons act without due reflection, I hesitate not to declare my belief, that those with whom the system originated, and who are the principal instigators of all the measures adopted for effecting the extirpation of boxing and other hardy exercises, are actuated by motives far other than those of compassion for the persons who are in the habit of being therein engaged. Let, however, what will be the motives, the consequences are, some of them, already obvious, and others it is by no means difficult to foresee. That cuttings and stabbings are more fatal than

boxing, to say nothing of the disgrace, every one must agree; and, it cannot be denied, that the former have increased in proportion as the latter has been driven from amongst the people. But, boxing matches give rise to assemblages of the people; they tend to make the people bold; they produce a communication of notions of hardihood; they serve to remind men of the importance of bodily strength; they, each in its sphere, occasion a transient relaxation from labour; they tend, in short, to keep alive, even amongst the lowest of the people, some idea of independence: whereas, amongst cutters and stabbers and poisoners (for the law above-mentioned includes *English poisoners*) there is necessarily a rivalship for quietness and secrecy; they generally perform their work single handed; their operations have nothing of riot or commotion in them; as to labour, they lose little of the time for that, seeing that their mode of seeking satisfaction is with the greatest chance of success pursued in the dark; and there is not the least fear, that their practices will ever render them politically turbulent, or bold. In fact, the system of effeminacy as it has grown out of, so it is perfectly adapted to, the Pitt system of internal politics, which, by making, in a greater or less degree, almost every man, who has property, a sort of prisoner, or, at least, an annuitant, of the state, aims at ruling the nation by its base, instead of its honourable feelings. On the selfishness of the common people, particularly the labouring part of them, the Pitt system of finance and taxation has, directly or at least, no hold; and, therefore, it required the aid of the system of effeminacy, which includes the suppression of mirth as well as of hardy exercises, and, indeed, of every thing that tends to produce relaxations from labour and a communication of ideas of independence amongst the common people. Systems better calculated for preventing internal opposition to the government never were invented; but, this is not *all* that a wise statesman and one that loves his country will look to. Such a statesman will perceive, that if he destroy the feelings, from the operation of which the government might occasionally have something to apprehend, he thereby destroys the means, by which alone the government can be permanently preserved. Render the whole nation effeminate; suffer no relaxation from labour or from care; shut all the paupers up in work-houses, and those that are not so shut up work in gangs, each with its driver: this is and it is evident that you will have no internal commotion; it is evident, that you will hold the people in complete subjection to your will; but, then, recollect, that they will be like the ass in the fable, that they will stir neither hand nor foot to prevent a transfer of their subjection to another master. Thank God, we are yet at a great distance from a state so full of wretchedness and of infamy, and, I trust, that we shall long be so preserved. In speaking of the system of effeminacy as adapted to a co-operation with the Pitt system of internal policy, I by no means would be understood as supposing, that it has been contrived, or at all encouraged, at least wilfully, by Mr. Pitt, or by any other minister. It is, indeed, one of the many evils that have naturally grown out of the Pitt system; but, whatever other faults I may impute to Mr. Pitt, as a minister, justice to him obliges me to confess, that I have never heard of his directly favouring the endeavours of those weak, meddling, and, in many instances, fanatical persons, who are the chief instruments in the persecution of all manly and mirthful exercises; and, I confidently hope, that, if any further attempts are made at legislative innovation upon these subjects, he will be found amongst their determined opponents.

Sir William D'Arley.——In another part of this sheet, will be found a letter from this gentleman, which I have lost not a moment in laying before my readers.—— Of the documents, to which he refers, being mostly in the French and Italian languages, it will be better for me to state the substance here. The first is a certificate from Cardinal Ruffo, dated at Rome, 6th February, 1801, bearing the most honourable testimony of the bravery and the services performed by Sir William D'Arley during the last war. He was, it appears, a Captain in the British marines, and was sent to communicate with the Neapolitan commanders. He was, in consequence of his skill and his bravery, appointed to take upon him the command of a principal part of the troops, in which situation, to use nearly the words of the Cardinal, "he, by his conciliating manners, greatly contributed towards putting an end to the discord prevalent amongst the other officers. He kept his command till the object of it was completely accomplished: and, in the different actions, he uniformly gave proofs of his skill and his courage." The next document is a dispatch from General Acton to Prince Castelcicala, stating the service of Sir William D'Arley, and notifying the intention of the King of Naples, (the consent of His Britannic Majesty being obtained) to bestow on him the Royal Military Order of Constantinien. The third is a letter from Prince Ca-

telcicala to Lord Hawkesbury upon the same subject. The fourth is a copy of Sir William D'Arley's commission, as Colonel in the Neapolitan army. And the fifth is a warrant of His Majesty, permitting the knighthood of Sir William D'Arley, and ordering it to be recorded in the college of arms.—— I think Sir William D'Arley might have spared the hint at the beginning of his letter; for, it was by no means necessary to inquire into the "effect," or rather purpose, I had in view, when I was publishing an account of the additions last year made to the pension-list; and, though I can readily conceive, that he must have felt a little stung at the publication, I am satisfied that the public will percieve, that it is the Treasury who are to blame, and not I. Why was there not some mention of the *cause* for which the pension was granted? The cause *is stated* against several of the *other pensions*; and, where no cause is stated, we have a right to conclude, that no good and fair one, at least for public services, exists. That we, every man of us, have a right, and that, with some of us, it is a duty, to inquire into the grounds, upon which pensions are granted, will scarcely be denied. To what end, else, are the accounts laid before parliament, and *printed?* If it be improper for us to *comment* upon the pension list, what a mockery, what an insult, what vile deception, is this *accounting* to the public for the expenditure of their money! Sir William D'Arley feels as one must expect such a man to feel under such circumstances: I am ready to heal the wound: ready to do him ample justice; ready to say that he deserves a greater pension than he receives: but, I cannot allow him to call in question the *motives*, from which I have made the publication he refers to. Sir William D'Arley served his country and his king in facing their enemies abroad; and, he should have perceived, that, in commenting upon a pension-list, by which the property and labour of the nation were, in only one year, mortgaged for nearly a million sterling, in addition to the hundreds of millions for which they were already mortgaged; he should, one would think, have perceived, that in making comments on such a list, a man might be serving (with greatly inferior merit, it is true) his king and country, at home.—— The observation, in the latter part of the letter, that I commented sarcastically upon a pension granted as a reward for military services, is not correct; for I professed to know, and I really did know, nothing at all either of the person, the rank, or the services of Sir William D'Arley; and, if I am told, that I should have taken care, previous to the making of my comment, to acquire information upon the subject; I answer, that no such duty was incumbent upon me, it being the duty of those who make out, who print, and who publish, the pension-list, to convey, with a knowledge of the charge upon the public, a knowledge of the grounds, if there are any beyond that of mere ministerial favour, upon which the charge is made. Nor while there is great obvious good, in making comments upon the pension-list, can there be any harm; for if, as in the present instance, the comment convey an impression not advantageous to the pensioner, how effectually is it removed, if it can and ought to be removed! And, though Sir William D'Arley modestly expresses his reluctance at being compelled to appear before the public, I cannot but hope and believe, that he will, upon reflection, think himself, in good earnest, "obliged to me" for taking him, as I now effectually have, out of the company, in which I found him.

NAVAL VICTORY.—The advices from Sir Robert Calder, subsequent to those spoken of, and, indeed, contained in the preceding sheet, have been received with much public regret, and not entirely without public discontent with regard to the conduct of that commander. There appears, particularly in the ministerial prints and circles, a strong disposition to censure him for not having been more intent upon producing destruction against the enemy, than upon *making sure* of his prizes, in order to do which, it is presumed that he suffered his fleet to fall to leward too far, and thereby enabled the enemy to make his escape. Others are, however, of opinion, that he did the best that circumstances would permit him; and, at all events, nothing can be more unjust, or more injurious to the interests of the country, than condemning commanders, except upon the result of the fullest inquiry, and the clearest evidence of their having acted upon some wrong motive. It is not quite impossible, that the ministerial writers may have in view the very honourable purpose of turning the public resentment from the ministry, by thus endeavouring to direct it against the admiral. The public should, therefore, be on their guard against the effects of this device; and should be very slow to conclude, that the admiral has neglected his duty, because he has not effectually made up for the negligence of the admiralty.—— It appears, that the convoy of West-India merchantmen, spoken of, in the preceding sheet, as having been captured by the enemy, have not been captured by him; or, there is, at least, no certain intelligence

of the capture.——Before this sheet reaches the public, it is probable, that some authentic account of the fate of the combined fleets will have been obtained; but, if there should not, it may not be quite unnesessary again to caution the reader against entertaining any very sanguine expectations as to the consequences of any engagement that can take place; I mean consequences as to the duration and final result of the war; for, I venture to repeat, that the destruction of the whole of the combined fleets would, in the present state of Europe, produce but very little effect, either upon the power or the disposition of the enemy. If I am asked, "what, then, would produce effect upon him," I answer, that I do not know, and that, if we are pleased in such a wretched situation, it is the faults of those who were the authors of the peace of Amiens and of the measures which naturally produced it. In remarking (which I intend to do in my next) upon the state of the dispute between France and Russia, I shall have occasion to point out some circumstances to strengthen this opinion, which, indeed, seems now to be pretty generally entertained; but, I may here say, for it is, I am persuaded, a truth that can never be too often repeated, that, without a radical change in our system, both of internal and external policy, both in our measures of political economy and in our military and naval arrangements, we shall never, in the life time of the youngest man amongst us, know what it is to enjoy an hour's *real peace*. People do not, and they will not, perceive, that one position in Europe, and especially with regard to France, is totally new. The old maxims, applied to the present times, are foolishness; and, if we persist in acting upon them, our fall is certain. The plans of France for the subjugation of England are only *beginning* to be put in execution. The alarms about invasion have been premature; and, though it is not impossible that some attempt may be made this summer, it appears to be improbable. The great feature in the scheme of the enemy is *to wear us out*. He has not disguised his intention; he has calculated upon the effects of a seven year's war upon the resources of our purse and our patience; and, if we change not our system, (a change always in our power, however,) his calculation is perfectly rational. The loss of his fleets would only add to the number of ours: it would make no other alteration in his plans: situated as he is and as we are, the most we can hope for (if we persist in the pernicious Pitt system), is, to defer the hour of our overthrow. At the loss of his fleets we must, and we ought to rejoice; but, the danger is, that, by placing too much reliance on the consequences of such loss, we may create for ourselves most grievous disappointment; and, which is still worse, may be induced to defer the adoption of the only measures, by which we can possibly obtain the means of permanent security.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing articles were written, the following paragraph has reached me, in the Morning Chronicle of the 7th instant. It is another of those instances, which I was desirous of pointing out to the attention of my readers. For the reasons given at the close of it, I shall leave it without comment.—— "Yesterday the *peace* of the *county of Kent* was broken at Blackheath by two men who had previously agreed to dispute by force of arms which, in their language, was the best men. Old Caleb Baldwin was one of the combatants, and young Ryan was his antagonist. The Chicken was second to the former, and Clarke, a well-known assistant at these sort of feats, was the bottle-holder. Tom Jones seconded and Dick Wheel held the bottle to young Ryan. At half after eleven they set to; the old man made a deal of bustle and hit the first blow. Though the other was a larger and more athletic man, this made the bets run nearly even. But the strength and spirit of youth prevailed from that to the 8th round, when the old man made a most amazing exertion by putting down his head below the other's waist, and giving him a complete somerset over his shoulders. Though this hurt the young man severely no doubt, it seemed to be an additional stimulus to his action, for in the next round he beat Caleb quite down by repeated blows. Notwithstanding what he had suffered, the old man continued to fight with great spirit and wonderful activity; he did great injury to the young man at intervals, and though he was severely hurt himself and lost his wind considerably, he held out until the 20th round, when he fell apparently through fatigue, and young Ryan struck him either as he was falling or when his knee was on the ground, but the most general voice was that the blow was foul. Baldwin was immediately carried off by his friends, and the money for which the battle was fought, as well as the different bets depending, are still to be decided by the majority of voices among the amateurs, and no doubt, as sporting gentlemen, their decision will be honourable between the parties.——After the fight was over, there was a still greater breach of the peace; a party of the military on horseback, with drawn sabres, were seen galloping at full speed, so swift that one of the riders lost his cap by the way; they

came on the road, and swept in a semi-circular form round the multitude, who had not yet dispersed. The Riot Act was not read, nor was there so much as a constable's staff shewn, to induce or command the people to disperse by the authority of the civil law. The East London Militia are quartered at Greenwich, and having just finished exercise, many of them joined in the crowd to see the exhibition of the only mode of fighting which is peculiarly English. Some of them, as well as several other people, had hair-breadth escapes; but a fifer belonging to the East London had his jaw-bone broke and received other injury. Two noblemen and some gentlemen have given their addresses to the ringleader of the party, and Mr. M. went to a neighbouring magistrate, under whose authority they said they acted, to inquire if it was a fact that he had lent the authority of his official character to a band of soldiers to act *ad libitum*, without his presence or control, against an unarmed body of British subjects. As the affair will certainly become the subject of legal inquiry, it is too delicate a matter to describe more particularly at present."

Botley, Thursday,
8th August, 1805.

SIR WILLIAM D'ARLEY.

SIR,——In your paper of Saturday the 27th July, you have favoured the public with a dissertation on the Pension List laid before parliament; to what effect, it is not my intention to consider: confining myself simply, to that notice you have thought proper to take of the bounty which it has pleased His Majesty by the advice of his ministers to bestow on me, and to the doubts which may arise in the public mind whether it has been deservedly bestowed or not, I have only to observe, that this mark of His Majesty's grace and favour was conferred upon me after twenty-two years unremitting service as an officer, and having shared in several of the principal battles of my country by sea and land; and in particular for the more immediate and individual services I was considered to have performed during the last war, while in Italy, as certified in the inclosed official documents, the originals of which are to be seen in the Foreign Office, and to their authenticity and truth, the then ministers, the Sicilian Envoy, Lord Nelson, and Sir Samuel Hood will bear sufficient testimony if called upon.——So far, Sir, am I from being "very much obliged" for this occasion of publicity, that it is with real pain I embrace it, but the very few (as you justly hint) who do know me, will expect a reply where so much may be said, and the rest of my countrymen will, I hope, pardon an apparent egotism, which takes its rise from your animadverting in the language of sarcasm, on the reward bestowed on military enterprise, treating it as unmerited profusion.—— I remain, SIR, your most obedient servant, WILLIAM D'ARLEY.
Hythe, 3d August, 1805.

TO THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX, M.P.
ON THE REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER X.

SIR,——Upon the few occasions, that the people of England come forward at public meetings, to express their opinion upon great national questions, it is natural to look up to you as their champion in parliament, ready to propose those measures which ought to be brought forward in compliance with their sentiments, when generally and anxiously declared. The public opinion has never been more universally, or more loudly heard upon any subject, than it has of late concerning the delinquency of Lord Melville. The table of the House of Commons was never more crouded with petitions, containing the true and unbiassed sentiments of the nation. Nor ever was there a period, when the public approached the House of Commons, with greater expectations of redress for both proved and apprehended criminality. And yet, Sir, if they were well acquainted with, and if they duly considered the conduct of the House since those petitions were laid upon its table, they would greatly relax in the confidence, which they were at first disposed to place in their representatives.——The wisdom of the nation induced it at once to see the conduct of Lord Melville in all its different bearings. It did not suffer itself to be led astray by the indignation, which it naturally felt at the detection of a minister, next to the prime minister in rank and power, and one that had experienced the fullest confidence both of the King, and of a large majority of the people for a long series of years. Nor did it confine its views to the mere gratification of acquiring an excessive degree of punishment. But more sagaciously, it considered the proofs of criminality in one department entrusted with the management of the public money, as strong symptoms of mismanagement, if not of criminality in the other departments; and, accordingly the petitions, that were the consequences of the decision of the House of Commons on the 8th of April, did not only congratulate the House upon its vote, and demand justice in the case of Lord Melville; but they required further investigation, and the full exercise of the prerogative of the Commons House of Parliament, over the application of the pub-

lic revenues*. But how has this request of the nation been treated? Mr. Pitt, the minister of the country and the friend of Lord Melville, has brought in one bill for continuing the commission of naval inquiry, and another for appointing a certain number of gentlemen, of his own selection, commissioners to inquire into the conduct of certain military departments, likewise of his own selection. And these are the only measures adopted by the House of Commons in consequence of the petitions; and this is the manner in which even these measures have been brought forward. I will not now say, Sir, that the public opinion has been neglected, the petitions of the people overlooked, and their expectations very unwisely disappointed. But, this I will say, that if the approaching session of parliament is permitted to pass by without other more appropriate measures being taken to reform the system of conducting the public expenditure, the people will have great reason to complain of the remissness and indolence of their representatives. There are no doubt many reasons to justify you, Sir, as the leader of opposition, in not having, as yet, brought forward any measure founded upon the petitions of the people. The advanced period of the session, when Lord Melville's delinquency was declared; the numerous debates that arose out of the variety of opinions entertained as to the mode of future trial; the policy of leaving the minister to himself to chuse his own plan of meeting the public sentiment, all these are strong reasons for waving a determination upon the general conduct of the opposition with regard to the petitions. But, though they are so, the opposition would fall into a fatal error, if they judged from the circumstance of the people, not appearing to be dissatisfied at what has been done, or rather has not been done, that they really were contented. For if the people saw in the detection of the systematic plunder of the naval money, during a period of 16 years, sufficient grounds for requiring of the House of Commons an investigation of the proceedings of all the various offices concerned in the management of the national expenditure, it cannot be said, that the continuation of the naval commission, and the appointment of a military commission of inquiry are in themselves measures adequate to either the expectations or the object of the petitioners. If, even it is taken for granted, that the commissioners of military inquiry, will faithfully discharge their duty, and certainly the characters of the gentlemen appointed to this commission justly warrant such an expectation, still that great portion of the public expenditure, which is directly under the management of the Treasury, is made subject to no parliamentary examination whatever. This consideration introduces to our notice the mystery of the consolidated fund. The annual charge upon which, as it stood on the 5th of Jan. 1805, was 27,510,5481 (No. II. p. 93.) Would it not, Sir, be satisfactory to the petitioners to know, that the conduct of the Treasury in the annual payment of so large a sum during these last 6 years was free from reproach. Or if, upon inquiry, it should prove to be otherwise, would it not be equally satisfactory to them to know in what instances it had been culpable, and thus to see the groundwork of reform prepared?—— Another item under the direct management and control of the Treasury, is the expense incurred for the civil government of Scotland. So far as it may be presumed that Lord Melville possessed any influence with the Lords of the Treasury, so far and in such a degree is it reasonable to surmise, that irregularities may have taken place in this particular branch of the public expenditure, and for this reason, it is one eminently fit to be minutely investigated. A third item immediately belonging to the Treasury department, is the moderate charge of near two millions per annum for MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES. A most modest, and by no means flippant method of accounting to the public for the disposal of two millions per annum of their money! What obligations must ministers be under to *that* most ingenious Secretary of the Treasury, who first discovered the happy facility of covering all jobs, and bringing all issues of money under their proper head by the use of the two simple words MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES!!! They are, it is worthy of remark, always placed in the account laid before parliament, (No. 5) just in the line, namely, the last, where balances are usually found in an account; but, instead of balances due either by the public, or to the public, to account correctly, according to common custom, for its property, this pleasant invention supplies their place, and affords the Secretaries of the Treasury the extreme satisfaction of being able to lay before parliament, an account of the whole public expenditure of the year, without the vulgar and troublesome word "balances" once obtruding itself. Surely, Sir, it would be gratifying to the petitioners to know upon what merits, these two millions per annum,

* "The detection of such malversations, in one department of the state, induces apprehensions that others may not be more faithfully and honestly administered." Petition of town of Southampton, *et cetera*.

for the last sixteen years, have been paid by the Lords of the Treasury! But there is this further reason why an inquiry into the Treasury department is peculiarly indispensible, and this is, the perplexed and delusive nature of the accounts annually presented by it to parliament. I have been able, in former letters to establish this fact, at least to the satisfaction of one, particularly well acquainted with these accounts, and eminently qualified to judge of my reasoning upon them, I mean the author of this Register. With then, Sir, at least a rational proof before you, "that the accounts, as now submitted to parliament, are useless for any purpose of checking the minister in his disposal of the public money," * and the notorious fact, that the conduct of the Treasury is directed by the minister; how is it possible, that the claims of the petitioners can be satisfied, except by the appointment of a parliamentary commission to inquire into the management of the Treasury department, and the system there adopted of stating the public accounts? You may, Sir, have felt reason to complain of the backwardness of the people, on some occasions during your political life, in declining to support your parliamentary measures, when calculated to secure them from the dangers preparing for them by the intemperance of your political rival, and all the distresses present and to come, of an unnecessary and most expensive war. But, in the instance now before you, you have the voice of the whole nation, a very few interested individuals excepted, not merely following your measures with approbation, but pointing out to you the way to secure the country from the corruption of ministers. You therefore, Sir, are even more than bound to be the advocate of those, who have so much extended the character of Englishmen, by their manly expression of indignation at the malversation of Lord Melville; and you cannot well permit the petitions of the people, upon this occasion, to rot as waste paper upon the table of the House of Commons, and the opportunity to pass by and be lost, of effecting a great and real reformation of abuse, and that upon the substantial authority of the declared and anxious expectations of the people.——Mr. Pitt commenced his political career, and acquired the confidence of the nation, by the earnestness he expressed to attain a frugal management of the public revenues, and to correct abuses. But the nation have yet to learn the method by which Mr. Pitt intended to carry his professions into practice. You, Sir, have been the true and steady friend of your country, and have acquired the character of being so, without having had resort to your powers of oratory to give credit to loud sounding and delusive professions. You have left your character to rest upon your actions; and circumstances have given you this great advantage over Mr. Pitt, that all his professions, all his dissimulation, and all his misconduct form an aggregate, placing you in a situation, that renders you competent to be that reformer of abuse and prodigality, which he professed, and, perhaps, at one time, wished to be. And you hold this situation, not as a young minister trying to gain popularity, and forcing untried and speculative measures upon the country; but as the acknowledged friend of your country, and called upon by the people to carry into effect that reformation which was promised to them by Mr. Pitt.——I have the honour to be, &c.——VERAX.——*August* 1, 1805.

* Vide Register, Vol. VIII. p. 68.

SHERIFF'S JURISDICTION AND POWER.

SIR,—Amongst the many discussions that at various times have taken place in your paper, the Political Register, I can find none on the subject of *a Sheriff's jurisdiction and power*.——This may appear, Sir, to you, a matter too trivial for consideration at a moment like the present, when things of much greater importance find places in your paper; but, at any leasure time when you can give this attention, and favour me with your opinion, I shall feel greatly obliged by your information.——The *election* of a Sheriff is made by "the Chancellor, Treasurer, Barons of the Exchequer, and the Justice of the two Courts of Common Law." This power of election was vested in them by the 9th Edw. II. st. 2. Upon his being elected by them and approved of by the King, he receives his Majesty's letters patent, empowering him to act in his county as the King's minister of law and justice; and, amongst other functions imposed upon him by those letters patent, he is "to attend the courts, *execute their process*, and *make due returns thereof*."——Hence it is, that he is termed in the language of the law, "a *patent* officer of the Crown."——Viewing him in this light, I have always considered him as bound to pay the most implicit obedience to the commands of the court; and, more particularly, as they are strengthened by always being issued in the King's name.——But circumstances having occurred, that have rendered the rectitude of this opinion rather doubtful, I have taken the liberty to address *you* on the subject.——In a case where a man recovers in a court of law *ten* acres of land, and afterwards issues what in the law is stiled a Writ

of Possession, grounded upon that verdict, when he attends the Sheriff on the day fixed for the execution of that writ, to receive the lands at his hands, the Sheriff refuses to give him possession, alleging, as a reason for so doing, that a counter-claim has been made of *one-half*; and, upon inquiry by what new opponent his claim is now to be disputed, he finds it to be *that very* identical *thing* against whom he has just recovered what he now justly claims as his right.—— Neither the judgment of the court, in this case, or the King's mandate itself, are documents worthy the Sheriff's attention; and to shew his power, and as it were, sovereign contempt of them, he gives possession of only *one-half*: then, in order to fulfil his duty like a faithful "Minister," he returns to the court, that he has executed the writ as he was commanded!!!——An action, then, is brought for a *false return* against the Sheriff for damages. But, alas! here again, the unhappy plaintiff is foiled, for this is not *held* to *be* a false return, *prima facie*, until it has been ascertained whether the party claiming is *entitled* to the *land in question or not*; so that the very same process may be gone through, *toties quoties*, without ever attaining any end.——I should be glad therefore, Sir, if you can explain to me the law on this subject. By *law*, I mean only, how we are to look on these *two powers* the Sheriff, and the united courts of law. And I should recommend in future, to persons who wish to recover any landed property, to prosecute their suits in the *Sheriff's court*, where *its* decision would not be subject to the opinion and controul of a superior jurisdiction; and to those, who have debts owing them under forty shillings, the most adviseable mode of recovering such debts, would be, to commence their actions in the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas.——Or, if the law on this subject cannot now be altered, I should be greatly obliged by your advice *how* a man can possibly proceed in the courts at Westminster, so as to attain *any* end; and how the poor man, in such a case, can attempt to retrieve a family inheritance, without, in the end, being obliged to leave the bone of contention to his subtle adversary, and all his trouble and anxiety being crowned with the enviable prospect of being immured in a gaol for life to satisfy the *costs of suit*.——I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant, J. W. G.

PUBLIC PAPER.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.——*The following Observations on the Dispute between France and Russia, are taken from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 24th of July; and dated Berlin, July* 15, 1805.

M. Novoziltzoff left this capital yesterday for Saint Petersburgh. He had a long conferrence with Mr. Jackson, the British Envoy at Berlin.—His mission was announced throughout all Europe several months before it was undertaken, which circumstance alone had a tendency to defeat its object. It very naturally furnished a topic for much discussion, conjecture, and intrigue. After having represented M. Novoziltzoff rather as the bearer of orders than a negotiator, pains were taken to set forth his mission under aspect, in order to render it no less odious. He was to treat, said report, only with the Emperor himself.—Those who circulated these absurd reports, knew very well that every sort of pretension that should deviate from that line of attention and respect which is due to a great power, would of itself have frustrated a mission, the object of which besides was far from appearing very clear. And that there was somewhat in it indefinite and obscure, is manifestly obvious from it having been successively the object of orders and counter-orders. But upon due consideration of every circumstance, the counter-order which recalls M. Novoziltzoff to Petersburgh, is probably more conducive to peace than the order which sent him to Paris.—— If it was the object of his mission to remove the coolness which had taken place between France and Russia, most likely it would have succeeded; and, indeed, what is there in common between France and Russia? Independent of each other, they are respectively unable to do one another any injury, while they are all powerful mutually to benefit each other. If the Emperor of the French exerts a powerful degree of influence in Italy, the Emperor of Russia wields a still greater influence over the Ottoman Porte and over Persia. One has a circumscribed influence which does not extend beyond discussions respecting his limits, and which makes no considerable addition to his strength. The other, on the contrary, exerts his full influence over two powers of the first order, who for a length of time held the same political rank as France and Russia, and who extend their domination over the Arabias, the Caspian and the Black Sea. If the cabinet of Russia pretends to have a right to fix the precise limits that are to bound France on all sides, it is no doubt also disposed to allow the Emperor of the French to prescribe the limits within which Russia is to remain. When with Herschell's telescope they observe from the terrace of the palace Tauris what passes between the Emperor of the

French and some petty states bordering on the Appenines, they doubtless do not require that the Emperor of the French should not see what becomes of Persia, or what becomes of the ancient and illustrious empire of Solyman; that the Emperor of the French should not observe that within these two years the whole of the Caucasees, at the mere request of a few families of the country, has been annexed to Russia; that the whole of Wallachia and Moldavia are made dependant on Russia; that Russia has seized upon the Mouths of the Phasis; that she has established and erected fortresses on that river, and that by thus obliging the Porte to suffer her usurpations, she derives great advantages for prosecuting her conquests into the heart of Persia.——Is then the Emperor of the French reduced to such a degree of weakness that he must coolly listen to a Russian commissary, who calls him to account for what he does in countries unknown to Russia, and with whom he has no connexion, no intercourse; that he must shut his eyes that he may not see, and restrain himself that he may not answer; when the Sultan Selim reigns less at Constantinople than the mere envoy of Russia; when the Bosphorus has been violated; when the effects of the occupation of the Crimea and of the Mouths of the Phasis, are already felt in their full extent; when the cries of the Seraglio, though restrained by fear, give the signal to Europe: and where there is not a Pacha in the Morea, or a Mussulman in Constantinople, that does not daily expect to see a squadron from the Black Sea cast anchor under the walls of the Seraglio, a herald proclaim a declaration of war, and a discharge of musquetry resound through the gardens of the Grand Seignior.——But if a Russian commissary, while he came to Paris to require a diminution of influence in Italy, said at the same time that a guarantee would be given for Persia and the Porte; that the Bosphorus shall not be violated, that agreeably to the usages of all times, it shall be shut against the ships of all nations; that the treaty of 1798 shall not be renewed; that the subjects of the Porte shall no longer sail under Russian colours; that the regiments raised at a great expense in Albannia for the Russian service, shall be disbanded; that the number of ships in the Black Sea shall never be so considerable as to expose the Porte to the danger of being overpowered in her capital before the powers of Europe could be apprised of her situation; that the Phasis shall be evacuated, that the Caucasus shall be restored to the Scah of Persia, and that that extensive Empire will at length be allowed to enjoy repose, after so many years of intestine wars and calamities. It is easy to understand what would be the effect of such language, and although most assuredly we are not in the secrets of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, we do not hesitate to say, the Emperor of the French would be ready prepared for that noble transaction; he would yield, not to threats, but to the desire of establishing the independence of nations, and the happiness of the human race. Whatever sacrifices it might make for the independence of the Porte and of Persia, he should still be a gainer by them. Posterity, for whom he labours, would acknowledge him for their benefactor, and would remark that sagacity that enabled him to foresee the Russians oppressing one day the whole world, as they now oppress the North, and arriving at that universal monarchy with which Europe has been so much alarmed, and which has so long been represented to be the ambition of the French people, who have every thing at home, who can see nothing preferable to what they enjoy at home, and who can never be dangerous to the independence of other countries.——If the Russian plenipotentiary came as bearer of propositions from England, who but sees the difficulties, the inextricable embarrassments which the new instructions, the new pretensions of Russia must introduce into the negotiation? Whatever may be the nature of the objects respecting which France and England are divided, can these two nations be so reduced as to await the decision of their differences from a distant country, to whom the interests of both are so little known?—When the British cabinet smiled upon the mission of M. Novoziltzoff, her joy arose from the hope not only of engaging Russia in their quarrel, but also of drawing over, through her means, Austria or Prussia. For the British cabinet is well aware that the concurrence of Russia alone would not embolden them to dwell upon those frantic projects of partition which they do not cease to dream of in their delirium. When the British government wish for peace, they will feel that a French note must be answered by an English note. These two languages are more easily translated than any other, and the introduction of a third idiom would only perplex the negotiation.——Can M. Novoziltzoff be supposed so entertain precise and accurate notions of such complicated affairs? Did he know that at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, that the Mysore empire was not yet entirely annexed to the British power; that since that period, the Mahratta empire has been destroyed; that England has doubled her dominion in India; that no European vessel can henceforward appear in

se seas? Did he imagine that France ld renounce for ever all commerce with ia? Did he moreover see that it was not mmerce with India only that was to be at- ded to; that what Catharine never would sent to was obtained for England by the tle of Copenhagen; that what France will er allow, was obtained by Nelson from ssia, in the Gulph of Finland; that since t treaty, so injurious to the rights of ich the least proud nations are jealous, tinual extensions have been given to the t of blockade; that whole rivers have n blockaded; that one hundred leagues coast (Portugal had been blockaded; t Cadiz was blockaded even when squadron was superior in the Gut; t Genoa is blockaded, though for six nths she has not seen an English ship, hough for six months she has not seen a tral vessel, the result of the strange con- cension of the respective powers? At nice, at Trieste, at Lisbon, in the ports of North, from the moment when the ckade of Genoa was announced, every or- for that place was revoked.——Did this nipotentiary come to tell us that Russia obtained the liberty of India, and the edom of commerce with India, the ac- owledgment of the common sovereignty r the seas, the renunciation of all exten- n of the right of blockade, restricted here- er to countries attacked and in danger of ing taken, and, according to the definition the word blockade, surrounded on all es? Did he come at the same time to re- ire that the crown of Italy should be ced upon another head, and that posses- n should be renounced of some scraps of ritory beyond the Alps?——Had this en the case, the Russian plenipotentiary uld be welcome; he would have met th no obstacle, and success would have owned his undertaking. But if, approving hat is done by England, acknowledging r right to examine every ship, to place in tate of blockade whole empires, applaud- g the immense increase of her power in dia, he came at the same time to propose France to evacuate Parma and Genoa, to nounce the crown of Italy, it was France t was sought to be oppressed, it was ance that was proposed to be brought back the time when the partition of Poland was ected without its consent, when a degene- e race had been terrified for the purpose divesting them of a sense of their dignity, d of the disposition to defend themselves m oppression.——France has means, has rage, has armies; and whatever coalition English ministers may be able to renew, nces, still deploring the influence of Bri- tish gold upon the Continent, will untie this new gordian knot, as she has the two that have preceded it. Whenever any interposition shall be made to reduce England within just and proper bounds, France will make any sacrifice; but when it is intended to press upon her alone, she can discover in such designs nothing but hatred, jealousy and insult; and surely, it would betray an ignorance of the calculation of strength, and of the position of things, to expect ever to succeed.——Poland was partitioned; it became necessary that France should have Belgium, and the Banks of the Rhine. The Crimea, Mount Caucassus, and the Mouth of the Phasis, &c. have been seized on; and it became necessary that France should have an equivalent in Europe; her self preservation required it.——Is it a general congress of Europe that is desired?—Very well! Let each power place at the disposal of this congress, all that it has acquired for the last fifty years; let Poland be re-established, let Venice be restored to the Senate, Trinidad to Spain, Ceylon to Holland, the Crimea to the Porte; let the Phasis and the Bosphorus be renounced, let Caucasus and the Georgia be restored, let Persia be allowed to breathe after so many calamities; let the empire of the Mahrattas and Mysore be re-established, or let them not continue the exclusive property of the English; France may then confine itself within its ancient limits, and it would not be France that would lose the most. Whence then arise these outrageous cries, those provocations to a crusade against a power, that for fifty years has profited less than any other by the vicissitudes of states, and the changes of the world; which, ever victorious, has never retained any part of its conquests that was not necessary for a just compensation.——Europe had felt dreadful shocks, social order was reviving, the peace of Amiens had settled anew the universal system. A weak minister, and an unparalleled arrogance, have rekindled the war, and thrown the tranquillity of all nations again into a state of uncertainty. That prince, upon the Continent, who shall first associate himself in this project of general overthrow, who shall first give the signal for war, will be responsible for all the disasters that will result from it, and merit the maledictions of the present generation. All men of sense think that the consequence of a new continental conflagration will be to augment the power of France. They think also that she never will have the folly to evacuate numerous provinces, from the pure sentiment of generosity, or in the vain hope of advancing the interests of humanity, and the repose of the world.——It is the fashion to accuse th

ambition of France.—Yet, if she had been inclined to retain her conquests, one half of Austria, the States of Venice, the kingdom of Naples, Switzerland and Holland would still be in her possession. The limits of France are in reality the Adige and the Rhine? Has she passed the Adige? Has she passed the Rhine? If she took not the Salsa and the Drave for her limits, was she compelled hereto by force of arms, or was she influenced by a noble moderation? It is natural for such men as the Woronzows, the Thugutts, the Actons, in whom Europe has witnessed as much incapacity as hatred against every thing great and liberal, whose consciences are enslaved by English gold, to employ their whole influence to propagate or to bring back the scourges of war. The happiness of nations has allowed the downfall or diminution of their credit; it is also a happiness for princes. There are some who have ceased to reign from having listened to them.——The calamities of a continental war would not fall either upon Russia or England, since the scenes of battle would be in Italy and Germany. And what interest then have the French, the Italians, and the Germans, in the interference of powers, who would take advantage of the moment when the most dreadful blows should be struck, to complete the ruin of Constantinople and of Ispahan? The policy of the powers of the North has ever been to excite wars, from which they had nothing to fear. It was thus, that Catharine kept Prussia and Austria for many years at war, by constantly promising succours, which did not prevent the French armies from arriving at the gates of Vienna. It was thus that the late Emperor prolonged the calamities of war, by promising succours, which never arrived till the moment, when Austria had gained some successes without them; which retired on the first reverse, and in the midst of a campaign, left their allies to support singly, the burthen which they had promised to bear a share of.——In a word, France and Russia have nothing to gain by their misunderstanding; they cannot do each other any injury by war, and whatever may be the policy of the one or of the other, they can derive nothing but advantages from being well with each other. We have asserted, and we repeat it, that if Russia shall evacuate the Bosphorus, Caucasus, the Phasis, Georgia, &c. &c. France will consent to any arrangements that may be desired in Italy. But unhappily it is but too well known that such sacrifices are not palatable to any party; France must therefore be allowed to indemnify herself for the advantages which the other powers procure for themselves.——As to England, the treaty of Amiens exists; it has been made with coolness, and after a long investigation of the respective interests, it has been unexpectedly violated, and on vain pretexts. Let its stipulations be re-established, and peace will be re-established between the two states. But if England insists on new conditions, if she wished to interfere in the discussion of the limits of France, in Italy, let her admit France to a share of the states of the Mysore, of the Mahrattas; let her, in fine, adopt maxims consistent with the independence of other powers. But, say the English, "perish rather than recognise the principle that the flag covers the merchandize, that each vessel is accountable for its cargo, and what happens on board, only to its own Sovereign; that the East Indies are not our exclusive property, or that any power, has a right to interfere with our dominion in India." Do not expect that France shall enter into discussion with you on questions that do not concern you, or do you consent to enter with her into a discussion of questions connected with the sacred interests of all nations. She is sensible of the value of peace; but she is bound to make war, if it be necessary to maintain the glory of her flag, and the preponderance which she has acquired, and to insure for herself, that in whatever part of the world a Frenchman may be, he should have no reason to blush either for the insult or the pretensions of England.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

WAR IN THE WEST INDIES.—*Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor of Barbadoes, proclaiming Martial Law. Dated May* 18, 1805.—L. S. SEAFORTH.

Whereas there is the most undoubted intelligence that the enemy were seen in great force upon the coasts of this island last night and this day; and whereas from those circumstances, the knowledge we have of the great strength of the enemy lately arrived in these seas, added to the most awkward circumstance of there being no existing House of Assembly, it becomes necessary for the existence of the colony that effective and vigorous measures should be instantly adopted: I do by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's council make use of the power and authority vested in me by his Majesty, and for such cases provided, and hereby declare this island to be under martial law from the morning of to-morrow, the evening gun firing on Tuesday next, declaring, during the above space of time that this island is under, and liable to the laws and usages in similar cases customary in his Majesty's colonies; of which all con-

erued will take due notice, under pain of e usual penalties; and for no longer a pace of time is martial law, on any pretence prevail, unless from the continuance of e circumstances above, I shall see fit to new this my proclamation.——Given un- r my hand and seal at arms in council amber at the town hall this 18th day of ay, 1805, and in the 45th year of his Ma- sty's reign. God save the King! By his xcellency's command, Jos. D. HUSBANDS, ep. Sec.

Martial Law continued, &c. &c. &c.

SEAFORTH,—Whereas the circumstances danger attending this island, which caused e to issue my proclamation of the 18th in- nt, are so far from being diminished, that ey are rather increased:——I do hereby, and with the advice and consent of his ajesty's council, continue my above-men- ned proclamation in full force until gun- ing on Saturday evening next: and it is reby continued in full force, of which all ncerned are required to take notice.—— ven under my hand and seal at arms, in uncil chamber, at Pilgrim, this 21st day of ay, 1805, and in the 45th year of his Ma- sty's reign. God save the King. By his xcellency's command, Jos. D. HUSBANDS, ep. Sec.

ATAVIAN FLOTILLA.——*Report of Admiral Verhuel to the Secretary of State for the Marine Department of the Batavian Republic. Dated Dunkirk, July 26.*

HIGH AND NOBLE SIR,——In my let- of the 18th July, I had the honour to nd you a short account of my arrival at ubleteuse, with a part of the Batavian flo- a; but the circumstances of my voyage, which the Batavian colours have been owned with so much bravery, deserve to more fully known by your lordship, and have, in consequence, the honour to give a more detailed account of it. For these o months past, I have kept a considerable rt of the flotilla at anchor at Dunkirk, dy to sail at a moment's notice for Am- teuse. On Wednesday, the 7th July, the nd being N. N. E. I went directly with officers of my staff, on board the yacht ntam, and made, at half past four, the sig- for sailing. In a few moments after, I e the signal to four French praams and rty-two Batavian gun-boats to weigh an- or and set sail, they being at that time the y vessels ready to put to sea. The strong N. West winds had previously compel- me to send into harbour the transport ps, and the same state of the weather still vented them from coming out. At six lock in the afternoon, the ships being drawn up in a line of battle, in two divisions, we sailed in the following order. The Colonel and Captain of the Navy, Gerbrands, leading the van; the Colonel and Captain of the Navy, Carpentier, the rear; and myself on board the gun-boat, No. 39, Lieutenant of the Navy, Bodel, commander, in the centre. The four praams ranged themselves in the outer division, one in the van, two in the centre, and one in the rear. As soon as we got under sail we descried an English brig in the N. W. steering westward, and firing signals to ships in that quarter. As soon as we got sight of Gravelines we discovered nine of the enemy's ships, five of them three masted, frigates, and corvettes, and four brigs, laying to within half a mile of the shore. I made the signal to prepare for battle, the enemy still remaining at anchor, until we came nearer, in order that they might attack us with the more advantage. A quarter after nine o'clock, having come athwart of the enemy, which we now found to consist of fifteen ships, they tacked and engaged our van and centre within gun shot. They then extended their line so as to comprehend our rear. The action became warm, and the enemy closed us, keeping up a constant fire until we came near to Calais, when they sheered off, and left us in possession of the field of battle. We arrived in the harbour of Calais between eleven and twelve at night, where we cast anchor, although we might have continued our voyage, as we wished to give an opportunity to the ships in the rear to join us, and we then put the fleet again in sailing order. I was also particularly anxious to sail with day-light, that the enemy might see and follow us, and thus leave the passage clear for the ships still to come from Dunkirk, which were not so well equipped as those under my command; and were not, of course, able to make as good a resistance. The result has proved, that I succeeded in my object. The following morning about five o'clock, we drew up in line of battle, and saw in different stations 19 ships of the enemy, consisting of two ships of the line, 11 frigates and corvettes, and six brigs, who approached us, and, having rallied, attacked our line. The enemy came far within gun shot, and made great use of their mortars, which threw many bombs in the middle of our ships, but luckily not one of them did any damage. The batteries on shore had a great share in the action, and assisted the heavy fire of our ships in forcing the enemy to sheer off again. At eleven o'clock in the morning, five Batavian gun-boats arrived at Calais, eleven transports, and three French pinnaces, which had sailed from Dunkirk after us, without

meeting an enemy. These ships I ordered out of the harbour, and made a signal to give me a return of the damage sustained by the gun-boats, and was informed that eleven gun-boats were rendered unserviceable, and unable to proceed farther. I accordingly sent them into the harbour of Calais. I went on shore to settle with the French commandant of the navy, for the repair of the vessels. At Calais I met Marshal D'Avoust, general in chief of the army, who had come on board the last division from Dunkirk, and wished to proceed with us, and in the afternoon I returned with his excellency and three other officers on board. Notwithstanding I was aware that the nineteen ships with which I had been engaged in the morning had sailed to the west, and were in our course, I determined not to lose the opportunity, as, from the courage and bravery evinced in the late engagement, I had the fullest confidence in our vessels. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I made signal to weigh anchor, and got under sail, to twenty-one gun-boats, and three praams, including the division last from Dunkirk. I instantly formed the line of battle, myself in the van. When we arrived off Cape Blancenez, we discovered twenty-two English ships; including two ships of the line, six frigates, thirteen brigs, and one cutter. They kept at a certain distance, beyond gun shot of our ships, until they had formed into line of battle. The action commenced about five o'clock in the afternoon, and soon became extremely warm. Meanwhile the two ships of the line came so near that we fired our musquetry, by which the enemy must have suffered a great deal. We did not suffer so much, as most of their shot passed over us. The coast, by the care of Marshal D'Avoust, was lined with artillery and bombs, by which we were much assisted. Before we arrived off Cape Guisnez, the enemy's squadron was encreased to forty-five sail, including a great many frigates. All these ships being close together, our flotilla was covered, which were answered from our side with great spirit. Some of the enemy came within pistol shot of us, particularly two English brigs, which attacked my vessel with great fury, perceiving us to be the signal vessel. Notwithstanding this, we doubled the Cape in the most regular order in line of battle, very close to each other, fighting our way, although we had to pass a bank, over which three vessels could not sail a-breast, and that with great difficulty. At seven o'clock we arrived off Ambleteuse, in good order, where I suffered the ships to lie at anchor, in order of battle. Some English ships that had been stationed off Boulogne, perceived their squadron, and joined in the action; but they were all forced, at length, by our fire, and the heavy fire of the batteries, to put to sea again, and about eight o'clock the several actions of the day were at an end. I feel great gratification in giving to your lordship an account of the business of the day, and to assure you, that in the four actions, all very warm, the Batavian flag has been defended with the greatest bravery. We have had an opportunity to shew that the Batavian courage is no less than it was in former times, when we were so often victorious on the seas. We have shewn, that when the French Emperor, the great Napoleon, gives an order, the same can be executed; as certainly many may think the passage which we effected impossible, as on that day ninety-five sail of the enemy were to be seen off Cape Grisnez, of which we fought forty-five. The damages sustained by our vessels is not considerable, and will be soon repaired. We have in all ten killed, and sixty wounded, French and Dutch. I feel the greatest pleasure in being able to speak to your lordships in terms of the highest praise of all the officers. They shewed the greatest attention in the execution of my orders, and shewed the greatest ardour to attack the enemy. As proof of this it may be sufficient to state, that several vessels, carrying only two twenty-four pounders, fired 250 shots. The French officers, the crews, and officers of the schooners conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner. In a word, a commander may consider himself happy in having such brave men under him. Both did the greatest honour to their respective nations. [Here follows a list of the officers, whom he recommends to the notice of his lordship, and the names of the gun-boats damaged and left behind at Calais for repair.] After this enumeration, the letter thus concludes—"Lastly, I have the honour to inform you, that since my arrival, 46 gun-boats, and 11 transport ships have arrived here, under convoy of four gun-schooners; and I have farther the pleasure to state, that all those gun-vessels, by the indefatigable activity of the captain of the navy, A. A. Buyskes, chief of my staff, came safe from Dunkirk. I had left that officer behind, with orders not to omit any opportunity of sending off the vessels, after I had brought off the enemy to the west. He has ably supported me in the different manœuvres. I thought it proper to send Lieutenant Franken, an officer of my staff, with this report, who will be able to give your lordship a fuller account of the same. I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem. (Signed) VERHUEL.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.